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ABSTRACT

The nations of the capitalistic world devote a high percentage of their exports to trade with other nations in that group, while the underdeveloped nations send most of their exports to the capitalistic nations. The low wages in underdeveloped countries are critical for the maintenance of their position as dominated, for these low wages allow the dominant industrial countries to receive goods at relatively low cost and also to reduce the internal mass market of the underdeveloped countries to a minimum. In a colonial period, education is used by the capitalist countries to produce elites in the dominated countries. Today universal education policies in the underdeveloped countries keep these countries in a state of underdevelopment, for the costs of education and the growing unemployment rates of the educated in urban areas perpetuate a state of dependency. For the individual rural family, belief in advancement via education hinders the individual production and accumulation process and also creates a number of family liabilities in the form of children who cannot function within the existing rural society because they have never learned the required skills. By teaching things which have no obvious usefulness, institutionalized education plays a major role in creating the required mentality of a working class which can be and is controlled by the dominant classes in both the capitalistic and underdeveloped countries. (JC)

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RURAL EDUCATION AND UNDER-DEVELOPMENT: ASPECTS OF THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION

James K. Lindsey

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Until the recent past, people working with the theory and practice of development restricted themselves primarily to questions of economic growth, accepting the structures of social and political relationships as given, hence avoiding the embarassing (for the dominant classes) problems of inequality, exploitation and power. Attention to the ideology of growth of the GNP was sufficient to maintain existing national and international power relationships. Many of the programmes followed during this period, beginning after the Second World War, such as the Alliance for Progress and the United Nations (First) Development Decade, started by claiming they would attack certain social structures, such as those embodied in land holdings.[1.] However, these invariably remained paper issues when the programmes were actually implemented.

With the evident failure of these programmes to halt the continued growth of inequality in underdeveloped [2.] countries, the increase in urban unemployment, among both the educated and the uneducated and the deteriorating position of the rural population, a new phase in the international movement [3.] has begun. As at the beginning of the previous phase, we find plans to attack the inequalities both among nations and within nations. A great deal of empirical research is being done on ways of measuring different kinds of inequalities ; 'social indicators' are <u>à la mode</u>. In contrast with the first phase of the movement, however, large sums of money are being fed both into research and into the implementation of actual projects with the lead of the World Bank and UNDP, along with the bilateral aid-giving agencies. This work is supported by national and international development bodies who supply the 'expertise'. An integral part of this strategy is the international pressure to implement universal education as quickly as possible in underdeveloped countries, with the resulting debate over whether this universal education should have a special rural-orientation in rural areas where such a large proportion of the populations of these countries live.

Attempts have been made to explain this new phase in terms of a growing awareness of the failure of the previous concentration only on economic growth.[4.] As well as not taking into account the fact that the required global treatment had long been available, albeit from a Marxist viewpoint,[4a] this analysis ignores the social and political factors which determine such changes of policy, just as the new policy itself ignores the determination of inequalities by these factors. This paper attempts

to analyze the international political context of the move to universal education, the political forces within the underdeveloped countries which will receive and distort this pressure, and the role of such education in the transformation to capitalist social relations. If the debate over special rural education does not always appear explicitly in the discussion, it is because such education must be fitted into the broader context in order to be understood.

1. The International Context

During the past five years, events have begun clearly to show the limitations of naked force in the control of dissident populations. Whether it be direct military defeat, as in Southeast Asia, or simply bankruptcy, as under the military government in Chile, people in positions of power have begun to realise that reliance solely on strongarm policies will not be sufficient to maintain their places of dominance for long in the future. Other, more ideological, forms of legitimation and control are required to supplement and even to replace the military arm.[5.] In this evolution of the consciousness of the dominant classes, education occupies a priority place, just as it has already played a major role of control, whether consciously or unconsciously, in both monopoly and state capitalist societies for a considerable time. Thus, in order to understand more clearly this change in importance of education in underdeveloped countries, we must study the social, economic and political relationships both among nations in the world context and among social classes within these various nations.

Such a change requires the dominant classes to have much more accurate and detailed knowledge of how societies work, not just descriptions of what is readily visible (the 'surface structure') as have been given by neo-classical economics, functional sociology or behavioural psychology. Hence, we observe a proliferation of (pseudo) neo-Marxist studies being made. Just as the American military machine studied closely the revolutionary manuals to be able to combat guerilla war more effectively in Southeast Asia and Latin America, so the dominant classes now wish to have available the information required for these more subtle forms of control.[6.]

The nations of the world [7.] can be roughly divided into two groups based on their economic relationships within and between the groups. The nations of the one group, the capitalist countries, devote a high percentage of their exports to trade with other nations in that group, while the nations of the other group, the underdeveloped countries, send most of their exports to the first group. These relationships can be seen most clearly by taking exported commodities as a percentage of GDP and splitting these percentage exports according to whether they remain with the block to which the country belongs or not. We find, in 1972, that the 10 principal capitalist countries, with population of 597 millions, exported an average of 2.27 % of their GDP to underdeveloped countries, while sending on average 9.01 % [8.] to other countries in their block. In contrast, the 60 principal underdeveloped countries, with population of 1,585 millions, exported an average of 6.83 % of their GDP to the capitalist countries [9.] while sending on average only 2.22 % to other underdeveloped countries. Thus, 2.65 times as many people (in the underdeveloped countries) must give 3.01 times the percentage of their production in return for the products of the other (capitalist) block. Note that these figures do not even take into account social class differences within countries.

In underdeveloped countries, production is oriented towards the export of goods and not to the satisfaction of internal requirements of the country. Although many economists claim that this 'international division of labour' results in economies of production, the logical extension of such an old example as one given by Ricardo [10.] for trade between Portugal and Britain demonstrates that, in the long run, such an economic relationship only benefits the country with the higher productivity of labour (which, in turn, means the more highly industrialised country). Specialisation by underdeveloped countries in the production of goods for which the difference in productivity of labour is least, as compared to the capitalist countries, (as well as in goods which cannot be produced at all in the capitalist countries) initially allows each country to acquire more goods than would be otherwise possible. [11.] However, this smaller difference in productivity always occurs in non-capital goods production, which require less advanced

scientific and technical knowledge. This means that the underdeveloped country never produces the capital goods and techniques which would be required to reduce the differences in productivity, but remains dependent on the capitalist countries for their requirements.[12.] Hence, the underdeveloped countries remain with the short end of the stick, in a state of unequal exchange.[13.]

An important factor in the unequal exchange is the low wage level in underdeveloped countries.[14.] The maintenance of such low levels is not linked to the production of raw materials (primary sector), as is often claimed ; high incomes in the production of wheat, beef, timber, pulp, etc., and, more recently, oil, prove the contrary. Wage levels are maintained by the political relationships both within[15.] and between countries ; the low wages in underdeveloped countries are critical for the maintenance of their position as dominated. Not only do these low wages allow the dominant industrial countries to receive goods at relatively low cost, but the low wages also reduce the internal mass market of the underdeveloped countries to a minimum, permitting a much larger portion of production capacity to be given over to production of the export commodities, as well as the luxury goods required by the dominant national classes.

In a situation where a free market in wage labour exists, maintenance of low wage levels depends primarily on having a large surplus pool of unemployed (or underemployed) workers, a combined result of breaking down 'traditional'[16.] structures of production and of demographic growth. However, this situation is only of very recent occurrence in most underdeveloped countries. Since the appearance of underdeveloped (as opposed to undeveloped) countries, the allocation of labour supplies has mainly been regulated by what are often called 'traditional' relationships, and only to a very small extent by market relationships. However, these 'traditional' relationships are, in fact, products of the colonial and/or imperialist processes, and are not the relationships found in these areas before the conquest by Europe. A first source of variation arises since these imposed social relationships often do reflect the previously existing society : the society could not

usually be completely destroyed (except in North America, Australia, ...) and a new one constructed from scratch. However, the existing social relationships were and are always continuously being further distorted to the needs of the new system of domination. Sometimes, the existing social structure was completely discarded for other more useful forms of 'traditional' relationships, as in the replacement of collectively organised societies in many parts of Africa by authoritarian societies. There, this was accomplished by the appointment of local chiefs where none existed before, as with the Kikuyu, Kamba, Maasai and Ibo, making British control of the colony much easier.[17.] A second source of variation in forms of domination and of 'traditional' structures arises from the period during which the region was brought into the capitalist world system. Latin America, colonised during the period of mercantile capitalism, had different forms imposed upon it than Africa, colonised during the period of monopoly capitalism and imperialism.[18.] Related to this is a third source, the type of relationships between the dominant and dominated countries.

Pre-colonial societies in what are now the underdeveloped nations may be classified into three basic types : tribes of hunters and gatherers, societies depending on subsistence agriculture, and the more complex, class-differentiated societies (e.g. Mogul India, China, certain African nations, the Incas and Aztecs of Latin America). Although the first two types produced only for their immediate wants, they usually led lives of abundance, perhaps the only such societies ever to exist, as recent work in economic anthropology suggests.[19.]

Unless they could be forced to convert to agriculture, the hunters and gatherers were usually simply exterminated with the advance of the colonial outposts, as is still happening today, for example with the Iks in the border region of Kenya, Uganda and Sudan[20.] or with the Indians of northwestern Brazil. These societies could not be forced to adapt to production for a market.[21.] However, in isolated cases, people from these societies, could be brought directly into a labour market, as with some of the immigrations of workers within present day Africa. If suitable, the traditional hunting lands were taken over for large-scale agriculture, usually with the introduction of labour brought from other regions.

Domination over subsistence agricultural societies takes a number of forms. In Latin America,[22.] large tracts of land were confiscated to form latifundia ; the original inhabitants were allowed to work small plots of land to provide subsistence for themselves, but, in return, had to work a certain amount of time on the latifundia. As might be expected from the period in which this arose, the latifundia system resembles in some ways the European feudal system. However, the many rules protecting the feudal peasant did (and do) not exist in Latin America ; the exploitation is much more brutal. And the, usually unique, product of the latifundia is for an external capitalist market. Here, we have one kind of 'traditional' relationships controlling labour within a larger capitalist system.

Except for its use as a source of slaves, Africa was not brought into the capitalist system until the beginning of the imperialist period. As in Zimbabwe, [23.] the small subsistence agriculturalists were often allowed to continue to exist, with the assumption that they would soon be brought into the web of capitalist market forces 'naturally'. However, this produced a great labour shortage in the large capitalist farms which were set up, as well as in the incipient local industry. Various forms of political persuasion had to be used to acquire the necessary labour, ranging from outright military force to laws stipulating that the chief was responsible to provide a certain amount of wage labour per year. [24.] However, these policies were never sufficiently successful, and the next or a parallel step was often to impose rents or taxes. In this way, the members of these societies were forced to find some means of acquiring regular supplies of money, and were brought into contact with market relationships. This money could be obtained in two ways : by selling part of the agricultural or artisanal produce or by selling one's labour power. Since the capitalist enterprises were producing for the international and not for the local market, the members of these societies found that the required money could be obtained with least effort by the sale of products for the local market, to supply those workers already involved in capitalist agricultural or industrial enterprises. This required convenient access to the local market, and usually meant that those areas furthest from the capitalist enterprises actually supplied the most manpower because money could not be obtained by

the other means. As capitalist enterprises developed, they began to fill this small but growing local market as well. Because of their good location, as well as their higher productivity, they were able to take over the market previously supplied by the small subsistence producers, leaving the latter only one option : to sell their labour power. At this point, we find a qualitative jump from a situation of extreme labour shortage, to one of extreme surplus. However, even here the labour market does not resemble such a market in a capitalist country. Wages are politically held at low levels (subsistence for one person)[25.] forcing the workers to continue to rely on their subsistence plots to support a family, keeping the local market to a minimum, and allowing the maximum proportion of production to be exported.

The third, more complex, type of pre-colonial society was most usually completely destroyed, by the search for precious metals in Latin America, by the slave trade in Africa, etc. At times, it was possible to build onto the top of the class structure of such a complex society, as with the use of the zamindars by the British in India. However, even then, when international trade required it, the bases of local production were destroyed as with the artisanal textile production of India.

Thus, by various historical processes, vastly different societies arrived at the same point of underdevelopment : a distorted and specialised economy producing primarily for export and an extremely low level of wages combined to produce a continuing outflow of physical capital from underdeveloped to industrialised countries. However, this point of convergence does not mean that these countries have similar social structures, nor identical relationships of exploitation by the capitalist countries, as the preceding analysis has attempted to show. Hence, the problems of universal and rural education will vary enormously.

Within most underdeveloped countries, we find three distinct bases of the dominant political power : the ownership of land (those whose land produces primarily for a market and not for subsistence),[26.] the national bourgeoisie (industrial and commercial, since the financial fraction is almost always negligible) and the international monopoly capitalists(with whom the aid-giving and development agencies are most closely linked). Conflicts will exist among these major fractions of the dominant classes as to the attitude to be taken to rural areas, although any threat to the existing overall system should find them united. One of these conflicts will be over the system of education.

If rural class relations are still primarily 'traditional', the landowners will be strongly against any innovations which tend to break down these relationships. If a transformation to capitalist wage labour has occurred, the dominant rural class will be ready to accept changes which help to prepare the children of the dominated classes for future rural wage labour but which prevent, as far as possible, migration to the towns and cities. If the change is to smaller individually owned farms producing for a market, the class of farmers will usually begin to demand equal quality of service to that in the urban areas, however usually with little chance of success.

The national bourgeoisie is not directly interested in preserving any existing 'tradition' rural class relations, but rather in three things : an abundant supply of low cost wage labour, an adequate supply of low priced food for the urban wage workers, and the development of an internal mass market. For the first, it comes into direct conflict with the rural landowners and for the last, with the international capitalists. Depending on the existing relations of power, the national bourgeoisie may ally itself with either of the other fractions, or may attempt to go it alone, as has happened after certain military coups.

Often a major fraction of the dominant national classes consists of the top people in the state sector. Their base of support may come either from direct control of nationalised industries making them part of the national bourgeoisie, or from taxation of small rural landowners, so that they replace a class of large landowners in the expropriation of rural surplus product. Because of their direct control of the state apparatus, including the means of force, they are in a relatively strong position with respect to the dominated classes of the country, but, perhaps ironically, also often become strong allies of the international capitalists.

The international capitalists will want the abundant supply of low cost wage labour but with little development of the internal mass market, at least on the short term basis, so that the major effort may be directed to the export of low cost goods. In addition, the maintenance of order and stability will be of central importance, whereas the dominant national classes

may occasionally think or hope that disorder will be useful for wresting some power from the hands of the international monopolies. Because of this importance of stability, the international capitalists may, at times, find themselves in an uncomfortable alliance with the rural landowners, as they often have in blocking land reform in Latin America. [27.] However, this class has begun to realize that the more long term method of ensuring a relative stability, especially now that force can be seen to have limited long term usefulness, is by the introduction of universal schooling, a policy which has had evident success in the dominant capitalist countries.

2. Education and Underdevelopment

Throughout the history of mankind, until very recent times, a form of education abstracted from every day life of the adult world, and especially from the production process, has been the right of only a very small minority if it has existed at all. Only very late in the development of the now industrialised capitalist countries do we find the introduction of universal schooling of this same abstract type, [28.] after the main capital accumulation process had been completed and sufficient surplus was available to devote to it. For example, such an education act was only implemented in Great Britain in 1918 (to age 14) and in 1944 (to age 15). Earlier in British history, we find pressures, both from the working class and from certain fractions of the dominant classes, to begin providing education to working class children. This resulted in the factory in which the children worked having to release them for a few hours several times a week to attend lessons given by a teacher who often could not even write his own name. [29.] One early indication of the importance of such abstract schooling in the preparation of children for wage labour is that the early laws (1833 and 1844 Factory acts, The Mines' Inspecting Act of 1860) provided that children performing such labouring work must attend the few hours of formal education ; other children were not covered by the laws. Along with this was the desire to educate them to resist the temptations of Chartism and Socialism. [30.]

In the colonial period, education was used by the capitalist countries to produce elites in the countries they dominated. These elites provided the communication link between the colonisers and the subject peoples, as well as actually acting to collect the surpluses to be sent to the capitalist country. [31.] When the underdeveloped countries gained political independence, these elites continued to serve the interests of the capitalist

countries, often unconsciously, since their systems of values and their standard of life corresponded much more closely to that of the dominant classes of the capitalist countries than to anything they found in their own country. Since education originally enabled them to attain their elite status, they are eager to preserve this position by developing further the elite system of education and not to destroy it by introducing universal education.

Universal education policies in the underdeveloped countries serve, in several ways, to keep these countries in a state of underdevelopment. On two levels, the underdeveloped countries are being convinced that education is the key to development, hence, going against their long held views that elite education works to legitimize their positions of dominance. The dominant classes have been led to believe that a large supply of trained manpower will virtually automatically provide the impetus to development.[32.] The dominated classes believe that education will lift them, as individuals, from their positions of poverty, as originally happened with the present members of the dominant classes. With the growth of unemployment among the urban educated both myths are beginning to be questioned. In some regions, evidence is beginning to appear of open resistance to the imposition of such universal education, as among the Maasai in the Narok district of southern Kenya[33.], or among the peasants of East Java.[34.] In other cases, the resistance may take the form of refusal to attend the government schools and the creation of local independent schools as with the Kikuyus of the Kikuyuni district of central Kenya.[35.]

Likewise, the cost of education to an underdeveloped country is a two-pronged instrument working in its small way to maintain the country in a state of dependence. Vast quantities of money are being sunk into providing a complex education system, primarily under international pressure.[36.] This only adds one further impediment to accumulation, along side the much more important unequal exchange through low wages and the specialisation in non-capital goods production (for export). However, it is very important to the international capitalists to forego this small additional surplus which might be obtained from the underdeveloped countries, since it is the key to their strategy of order and stability. For the individual family, the

belief in the advancement of the children through education not only hinders the present individual production and accumulation process, but also, for every successful child, creates a tremendous number of liabilities to the families, in the form of children who cannot function within the existing rural society because they have never learned the required skills within the family and community structure.

An important element adding even more to the cost of an educational system than in the advanced capitalist countries is the language factor. In the first place, many underdeveloped countries have a great diversity of different languages, since they have not, at least yet, forced everyone to accept one common language, as was done, for example, in Great Britain, in France and, of course, in the USA. Only rarely and at great cost, as in India, can a country offer even elementary education in all, or most existing local languages. As will be seen in the next section, this greatly reduces the possibilities of adapting the education system to local needs, even when this is in the interests of the dominant classes.

The second important factor in the language problem is the role of a dominant foreign language, whether this be the language of the former coloniser or the modern language of imperialism, English, which almost every member of a national dominant class must also know in order to survive. Any individual going onto higher education, and this usually includes secondary education in an under-developed country must almost invariably become fluent in an 'international' language.[37]. Here, the expense is not in question ; the important factor is the dichotomy between the masses and the selected few often backed up by the split between public and private school systems. The change of language, with the accompanying acculturation, helps to increase the loss of contact by the dominant national classes with the needs of the country and places them in the hands of international capital. Even in a country attempting to promote its own national language as medium of instruction in the education system, such as in Indonesia, the dominant classes, and even the entire elite passing through higher education, depend heavily on a knowledge of English.

The role of 'international' languages is only part of the story of the importance education has played historically in developing the underdevelopment now found in so many countries. As we have seen, throughout the colonial period, the local dominant classes were brought quickly into the educational system of the conquerors. Both the establishment of local systems of education for the elite and the sending of selected individuals to the 'mother' country for special training played an important part in ensuring that the dominant national classes would be more susceptible to the influences of international capital than to the pressures of their own dominated classes. Of course, such education also produced some of the revolutionaries who were to liberate certain of these countries. But, we may note how many of these were educated in France where class conflict has been more openly visible than in the English speaking countries and where a strong Communist party has been able to play an important role on the political scene.[38.]

3. Psychology and Education

Recently published research has begun to bring to light ways in which the thought process changes through history.[39.] The most recent spectacular historical change has involved the abstraction of categories of thought from the production process with the development of capitalism. A key role in this has been played by the educational system. As a concrete example, Luria [40.] gave, as a test, four pictures (a saw, a hammer, an axe and a log) to illiterate peasants who had never been to school and to other peasants who had spent time in school (just after the Russian revolution). The illiterate peasants grouped together the saw, axe and log since they are all used together, and refused to accept any suggestion of another possible categorisation. The schooled peasants put the tools together : saw, hammer and axe. Many other examples can be given : the change from measuring distance by the time required to walk it to the use of kilometres, from measuring area by the time necessary to cultivate it to the use of hectares, etc.[41.]

But for the social structure, the most important change was that from measuring goods by their use value to measuring them by their exchange value. And as the final step, including human labour as a commodity with an exchange value. The abstraction in changing from producing goods for immediate known need (e.g. on command to the village artisan) to producing goods for an unknown market requires a tremendous leap of imagination.[42.] Even bigger is the leap to working to produce something which you will not even see sold, while waiting until the end of some period to receive, not something immediately useful, but money.

From this we see that by teaching things which have no obvious usefulness, institutionalised education plays a major role in creating the required mentality of a working class, breaking down traditional ties. The child who spends all of the early part of his or her life learning such things, without contact with the production process will be well prepared for the abstraction of commodity production and wage labour. Implementation of universal education in underdeveloped countries will play this same role. But without a major revolution in the social structure, or at least with the continuing lack of jobs, the preparation of such huge numbers of people suitable only for wage labour will be an additional factor in keeping down wage levels. Talk of vocational and rural-oriented education is illusory since such skills can only be learned in the production place (as they presently are in these countries). Institutionalised vocational education in the advanced capitalist countries serves more to impart the wage labour mentality, including the sense of failure which keeps the working class in its place, than to provide any real skills. Whereas at the present time in the capitalist countries the rough dichotomy produced by education is between this wage labour mentality and that of the dominant classes, in the underdeveloped countries, it is rather between those with literacy and number skills and those without.

A further impediment to any serious teaching of rural 'skills' in underdeveloped countries is the language barrier discussed in the previous section. Relevant skills for rural occupations can only be transmitted in the vernacular, since any other language will not contain all the necessary categories of thought to transmit the information. With existing language policies and an accultured elite of teachers, who is going to do the teaching ?

And even prior to this, who can determine what information should be transmitted ? The local 'change agents' who have a vested interest in maintaining their positions of relative dominance ?

We find 'experts' sitting in offices in the capitalist countries, whether in universities or in the international agencies, and making occasional visits to the underdeveloped countries where they meet almost exclusively with members of the dominant national classes, the only people with whom they can usually communicate. They then think themselves, in a position, or, at least, are expected to be able, to recommend what qualities a technical education, adequate for the conditions of the agrarian society found in the underdeveloped country, should have. Such a position assumes the continuation of the existing social structure, or in other words, accepting the maintenance of the statu quo, and also that an education defined elsewhere but within a society can meet the goals (and which goals ?) of the society. If one claims that the education is purely technical, we must ask, then what techniques ? And can we predict the impact of any such technique on the social structure ? [43.]

The same remarks apply almost equally as much to the national experts, who have been accultured in the ways described above and who also bring back the latest technical fads from the capitalist countries where they receive their advanced training. The fact that many of these latest fads are only used in underdeveloped countries and not in the capitalist countries is not due to the greater flexibility of the former, in a state of rapid change,[44.] but to specific needs of the dominant classes for control of the population which are different in the two blocks of countries. Whereas in the capitalist countries, the population has been submitted to institutionalised universal education for some time, so that parents bring up their children with the capitalist mentality described above, in the underdeveloped countries, much more direct control of the total educational process is required. Hence, the need for continuous evaluation (monitoring) of both teachers and students, brought to perfection in such forms as mastery learning .

In most 'traditional' rural communities, life involves a cooperative effort. For the peasant, riches are always dishonestly acquired, because they must have been gained at the expense of the rest of the community. Combined with the risk of failure meaning disaster, this means that an individual peasant can rarely be persuaded to accept an innovation as beneficial, either to him or to the community. In addition, he is accustomed to a cyclical vision of time, with the future the same as the present, and not a linear time of steady, accumulative change.[45] The introduction of school helps to break down this way of seeing the world through by its emphasis on the competition, performance and achievement of each individual. With this possessive individualism comes contact with the changing urban life, as children go off to the town for work, teachers arrive with new and strange ideas, and both teachers and children introduce consumer products. Thus, the 'traditional' peasant finds his society disintegrating with only the capitalist relationships of wage labour and commodity production to replace it.

4. Rural Education and Rural Class Relations

As we have seen, virtually every society still existing in the world today has been subjected to capitalist influences. Only the most recently 'discovered' and remote social groups are not so affected. All so-called traditional societies have been deformed and integrated into the capitalist system, beginning with the first contact, whether this be trade, conquest, colonisation, etc. However, in many cases, this integration is at one or two steps removed and little influence of wage labour, and sometimes even of commodity production and the market are visible. Examples range from labour dues and share-cropping to small independent peasant production of cash crops.[46] In underdeveloped countries, societies may fluctuate back and forth among several of these states, depending on the state of the world market, as when peasants turned wage labourers, or those producing cash crops return to their subsistence plots during world economic crises.[47] Thus, there is not a one-way trend to the extension of capitalist social relations (commodity production and wage labour) in underdeveloped countries. These social structures are dominated by the needs of the international capitalist market.

These fluctuations in international capitalist relationships necessarily entail other changes in the structure of the societies in underdeveloped countries. One such change, which comes under direct international pressure, is in the educational system. Until recently the national and international dominant classes were united against the other classes in their push to expand the selective higher (post primary) levels of education to the detriment of expansion of elementary education. For the international capitalist class, this meant a continuation from pre-independence of the tradition of an elite schooling which produced and maintained the subservience of the dominant national classes to the international capitalist structure. For the dominant national classes, this produced the relative advantage of reinforcing their superiority over the other members of the society.

During the current crisis of international capitalism, with the strengthening of the political basis of certain national bourgeoisies, especially in the oil-producing countries, and the evident failure of military force (or at least the threat) to sustain the positions of dominance, the international capitalist class has begun to switch strategies, and now places strong emphasis on primary and basic universal education. For the underdeveloped regions of the world, this necessarily entails education in rural areas to a large extent. If this movement is successful, it will see the extension of direct capitalist relations to all parts of the underdeveloped countries. As a long term strategy, this is ideal for international capitalism since it prepares the way for an eventual enlarged mass market, while ensuring a supply of cheap wage labour (which may be less volatile than the more highly educated unemployed now filling the cities) for some time to come.[48.]

Depending on the distinct form of society in a given underdeveloped country, the emphasis on rural education may evolve in several ways. For example, if the rural producers are small peasant rentiers or owners paying taxes with no larger landlords controlling the production process, and if some fraction of the dominant national classes depends on the support of these small producers to retain political power,[49.] an attempt at true rural oriented education may occur.[50.] This policy of a distinct rural education will be developed with the intent of maintaining the peasants on the land and stopping the rural exodus, with the accompanying erosion of

the political base. To be successful, it requires adequate knowledge of the local rural situation, and schools completely integrated into the community. In addition, children passing through such schools must be sure that they will be able to gain a livelihood comparable with that of the city, after they have finished. However, this is an essentially reactionary policy with disastrous results on a long term basis since it maintains an abnormally high proportion of the population as a rural peasantry. When capitalist wage relations eventually do penetrate the countryside, as they invariably will in a capitalist society, the political problems are explosive.[51.]

In another case, perhaps of plantation landlordism (with major foreign ownership) and agricultural wage labour, the emphasis may be primarily on the basic aspect with no real distinction between the urban and rural content of education. This will produce more efficient wage labourers (i.e. with the proper mentality) and, if high urban unemployment exists, perhaps not too excessive a rural exodus. However, the pressure for higher wages may develop rapidly in this case.

Where rural landlordism depends on non-capitalist means (share-cropping, labour dues, etc.) to extract the surplus product, there will usually be direct resistance on the part of the dominant rural class to any form of education at all since this will quickly break down their traditional means of domination.[52.] The institution of rural education will then depend on the relative strength of the various class forces at play. Similarly, more isolated communities depending primarily on subsistence, with limited production of certain cash crops (to obtain cash to pay rent or taxes and to buy certain consumer goods), will often either resist or be indifferent to any form of universal education introduced (imposed) from the dominant outside society.[53.]

When members of the dominated classes of rural society begin to see education as a means of social promotion, much of the battle to begin to instil capitalist ways of thought has been won. This may come about in a number of ways. For example, in a peasant (ownership) society, inheritance of land without parcellisation is critical for long term

survival. Various strategies, matrimonial and other,[54.] have historically developed to accomplish this. With an increase in population growth, the pressure becomes much greater and some societies have adopted the strategy of paying for the education of those children who cannot be given a portion of land.[55.] Another more direct pressure is simply the necessity to pay a money rent or tax which may be alleviated if some of the children obtain sufficient education to find a wage labour job in the city.

Throughout this discussion, we see that attendance or dropping out of school is only very slightly related to the content and quality of the education dispensed in the schools, whether this be school buildings, teaching materials, teacher skill, curriculum content, etc. Children are kept in or taken out of school for economic, political and social, and not for academic reasons.[56.] Attendance may be due to factors ranging from the use of military force to a belief in the prospect of upward social mobility. Conversely, refusal to attend and dropping out result from the need for the child's help in the production process and the realisation that the children are not obtaining essential life skills which only the community can provide, from resistance to the political policies of a dominant central government, and so on.

5. Education : Domination or Liberation

No act of an individual or a group, even if technocratic or bureaucratic, is socially neutral. For example, in capitalist society, only paid activities are considered to be work : contrast the man driving to work with the taxi-dirver, the Sunday gardener with the farmer, etc. The same applies to such government acts as nationalisations, land reforms, welfare measures, etc. In a capitalist society, such measures only rearrange (and also reflect) the power structure among the social classes, leaving the fundamental social relations, and the accompanying exploitation, intact. The newly created or transformed institutions immediately begin to function to maintain these capitalist relations of exploitation, although not without contradictions.

The prime function of an educational system in capitalist society is to maintain control of the members of the society without the use of force and in the absence of 'traditional' means of dictating the conduct of the individuals. The present movement towards more universal education is the step required in order to abandon the 'traditional' ties for the control of 'market forces', usually with the direct help of military force at intermediate stages. In the context of this paper, the rapid development of the behavioural 'sciences', with their more efficient methods of 'evaluation' is ample attestation of this tendency, whether used in the control of children or of teachers.

Hence, we conclude that any variations on the educational theme, whether formal or informal, special rural orientation or not, satellite assisted or not, will produce the same result within the capitalist world system when administered and controlled by the dominant classes. The actual form of this education which is adopted in a given social context will depend, to a far larger extent, on the interplay of class forces than on what sophisticated theories of education are applied to the country. Such theories and models will always be distorted, usually beyond recognition, by the social forces within the country. But the mainfunction will remain the same.[57].

Although the educational system, especially in its developed form in the advanced capitalist countries, has some degree of independence in its functioning, the only fundamental changes in society come about through changes in the relationships of force among the social classes, playing on the inherent contradictions of the system. Teaching based on such class conflict, such as that of Freire [58.] in Brazil, is the only liberating education in a capitalist dominated society. Only when the capitalist structure of society (including the international influences) has been overturned, may education, whether universal, basic or rural, play a role which idealists now tend to assign to it.

NOTES

1. See PETRAS, J.F. & LAPORTE, R. (1970) "Modernization from above versus reform from below : U.S. policy toward Latin American agricultural development". Jr. Dev. Stud. 6:248-266, for one example.
2. See FRANK, A.G. (1966) "The development of underdevelopment", Monthly Review, Sept.
3. See for example McNAMARA, R.S. (1972) "Address to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development", Santiago, Chile, for an account of the failures. This speech might be considered to be the official announcement of the new phase.
4. As by de KADT in de KADT, E. & WILLIAMS G. (1974, ed.), Sociology and Development, London : Tavistock, pp. 12-14.

4a. As one example, see BARAN, P.A.(1957) The Political Economy of Growth Harmondsworth : Penguin.

5. The early history of this evolution towards the necessity of more control in the American context is traced by O'Brien, D.C. (1972) "Modernization, order and the erosion of a democratic ideal : American political science 1960-70", Jr. Dev. Stud. 8:351-378.
6. The role of intellectuals in aiding the dominant classes in retaining their position of power has been amply documented. For recent studies of this in the USA, see the various works by N. CHOMSKY : (1969) American Power and the New Mandarins Harmondsworth : Penguin ; (1973) The Backroom Boys London : Fontana ; (1973) For Reasons of State London : Fontana.
7. For simplicity, the 'socialist' countries have been left aside in this model.
8. The sum of these figures does not give the total average percentage of GDP exported, since exports to 'socialist' countries have not been included. These averages are weighted by population.
9. If the low exporter, India, is removed, this jumps to 9.55 %.
10. See Ricardo, D. (1817) On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation Harmondsworth : Penguin pp. 147-167.
11. See Ricardo, op. cit. for the proof of this statement.
12. Even if the capital goods are assembled in the underdeveloped country. The same argument can be used for continued dependence on 'development' aid. See FRANK, A.G. (1967) Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America : Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil. N.Y.: Monthly Review Press for documentation that the countries of Latin America started to change from being underdeveloped to developing (including reduction of

internal inequalities) during the periods of the world wars when they were less implicated in the capitalist world system.

13. EMMANUEL, A. (1969) L'Echange inégal : Essai sur les Antagonismes dans les Rapports économiques internationaux, Paris : Maspero.
14. As FRANK, A.G. (1975) "Smith et Marx contre Weber et les Wébériens sur les origines du développement et du sous-développement dans le nouveau monde" L'Homme et la Société 35-36:149-185 shows this was not a historical cause of underdevelopment.
15. Especially when a market in labour has not gained control of most of the society. However, even in advanced capitalist countries, political means are used to keep agricultural prices and the accompanying incomes at a relatively low level, hence providing cheaper food for the working class and holding down the price of labour power. For example, the price of wheat was still the same in Canada in the early 1970's as it had been in the 1920's and 1930's.
16. I.e. societies not directly subjected to capitalist relationships of property with wage labour as a commodity. As we shall see this does not mean that the structures of such societies are not determined by capitalist relationships.
17. See TIGNOR, R.L. (1971) "Colonial chiefs in chiefless societies" Jr. Mod. Afr. Stud. 9:339-359.
18. FRANK, A.G. (1967) op. cit. has most skillfully developed this model. Wallerstein, I. (1974) The Modern World-System : Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century. N.Y.:Academic Press traces its origins back to the sixteenth century.
19. See SAHLINS, M. (1972) Stone Age Economics Chicago : Aldine but also the reservations of Godelier, M. (1974) "Considérations théoriques et critiques sur le problème des rapports entre l'homme et son environnement". Infor. sur les Sci. soc. 13(6):31-60.
20. See TURNBULL, C. (1972) The Mountain People. London : Pan
21. This policy is even still publicly proclaimed occasionally, as in World Bank (1975). Rural Development : Sector Policy Paper. Washington: World Bank p. 32.

22. See FRANK, (1967) op. cit., and STAVENHAGEN, R. (1969) Les Classes sociales dans les sociétés agraires, Paris : Anthropos.
23. A case study in detail by Arrighi, G. (1966) "The political economy of Rhodesia" New Left Review. 39 (Sept/Oct.) and (1970) "Labour supplies in historical perspective : a study of the proletarianization of the African peasantry of Rhodesia" Jr. Dev. Stud. 6 :197-234, from which much of the following is drawn. See also the more general discussion of AMIN, S. (1971) L'Accumulation à l'Echelle mondiale : Critique de la Théorie du sous-développement, Paris : Anthropos and (1973) Le Développement inégal : Essai sur les Formations sociales du Capitalisme périphérique, Paris : Minuit.
24. See also, TIGNOR, op.cit.
25. Thus, below the value of labour power, which includes the means to reproduce the labour power, i.e. raise a family.
26. Often, in Africa, as well as after certain land reforms in Latin America, land is juridically in the hands of small owners. But, in fact, the state acquires the surplus product through heavy taxation and thus has an independent political base of its own. See Gutelman, M. (1974) Structures et Réformes agraires : Instruments pour l'Analyse. Paris : Maspero and GRIFFIN, K. (1974) The Political Economy of Agrarian change : An Essay on the Green Revolution, Cambridge : Harvard U.P.
27. See PETRAS and LAPORTE, op. cit.
28. The lack of evident usefulness of what is learned in school is most marked at the lower levels, if the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic are set aside. After selection has occurred, especially at the school leaving age, many things learned earlier are put into a perspective or further developed to show their usefulness. Hence, only the future members of the dominant classes are so informed, while the members of the working classes are left with a confusion of useless abstractions. However, this education does perform a necessary role in capitalist society as will be seen in the next section.
29. Hence showing that the original function of such schooling was not to impart cognitive knowledge.

30. See MARX, K. (1867) Capital : A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production (Vol. 1) London : William Glaisher pp. 397, 398, 501; and LAWSON, J. & SILVER, H. (1973) A Social History of Education in England, London : Methuen pp. 271-273.
31. That this was consciously done can be seen, for example, from the quote by MACAULAY cited by MYRDAL, G. (1968) Asian Drama, Harmondsworth : Penguin, p. 1640.
32. As with Becker's economic theory of human capital and the sociological analogue, Bourdieu's cultural capital.
33. See KING, K. (1972)"Development and education in the Narok district of Kenya : the pastoral Maasai and their neighbours" Afr. Affairs 71 : 389-407.
34. Consider the following data for primary school enrolment in East Java :

Year	Estimated population Age 7 to 12	Enrolment Grades 1 to 6	Apparent student/ Population ratio
1968	3 486 800	2 137 479	0.613
1969	3 602 600	2 381 000	0.661
1970	3 909 900	2 484 000	0.635
1971	4 173 556	2 414 000	0.578
1972	4 312 000	2 437 111	0.565
1973	4 606 500	2 363 977	0.513
1974	4 706 100	2 519 418	0.535

from "Formal education in East Java : an exercise in data anlysis" Proppipda Jawa Timur, Table 1A. Sample surveys of the population and civil servants' reports confirm the existence of resistance. For example, parents prefer to concentrate on sending one child to the city for education where he will have a reasonable chance of reaching a higher (at least secondary) level, rather than having all children attending rural school with virtually no possiblity of continuing after the primary level. In some areas, the resistance is so strong that the military are being used to force children to attend school.

Consecutive with the latter part of this period, the effects of a massive primary school building programme, instituted on Presidential decree, were being felt, making the trend even more significant. The continued and growing importance of post-primary education for the dominant national classes may be seen from the corresponding table for senior secondary school in East Java :

Year	Estimated population age 16 to 18	Enrolment Grades 10 to 12	Apparent Student/ Population ratio
1968	1 225 800	79 270	0.065
1969	1 512 700	93 488	0.062
1970	1 289 300	85 676	0.074
1971	1 423 166	105 259	0.074
1972	1 418 600	113 078	0.080
1973	1 453 400	117 830	0.081
1974	1 505 400	124 051	0.082

Ibid. Table 1C.

35. See ANDERSON, J. (1971) "Self help and independency : the political implications of a continuing tradition in African education in Kenya" Afr. Affairs 70:9-22.
36. The now advanced capitalist countries were not burdened by this expense in the early stages of their capital accumulation. For the underdeveloped countries, an additional 4 % rate of capital accumulation (if kept in the country !) would have significant effects, although minor when compared with the drain caused by monopoly capitalism.
37. All advanced texts are usually only available in the 'international' languages and the cost of translation is prohibitive. This is a less important factor in Latin America, except for the Indians, since the language is Spanish or Portuguese.
38. See MOUMOUNI, A. (1964) L'Education en Afrique, Paris : Maspero, pp. 65-66.
39. From Kant's original conceptualisation of fixed categories, we may trace the steps to Hegel's proposition that categories change with history and Marx's that they also differ according to social class. However, only recently have empirical results appeared supporting these hypotheses. See LURIA, A.R. (1971) 'Towards the problem of the historical nature of psychological processes', Inter. Jr. Psych. 6 : 259-272.

40. Op. cit.
41. That these abstract categories are by no means obvious even to people brought up with a capitalist educational system can be seen from the popularity of such riddles as : Which is heavier, a ton of feathers or a ton of coal ?
42. As can be seen when Eskimos in cooperatives set up by the Canadian government insist on knowing who will wear the dress they are making (to be sold in the big cities of the south).
43. For one interesting example of the effects of such techniques introduced into a rural society, see SANWAL, R.D. (1965) "Agricultural extension in a Kumaonese village" Jr. Dev. Stud. 1 : 384-398.
44. Consider, for example, the rapid diffusion of the new mathematics and science courses in the capitalist countries.
45. See BAILEY, F.G. (1966) "The peasant view of the bad life" Advancement of Science (Dec.) : 399-409.
46. Formerly, the extreme included the use of slave labour in production ultimately destined for a capitalist market.
47. See FRANK (1967) op. cit.
48. Another aspect of this capitalist extension is the implantation of branch plants, usually only for assembly, which also prepare the way for the complete domination of capitalist relationships.
49. As was the case in mid-nineteenth century in France, the case described by MARX, K. (1852) The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte in Surveys from Exile, Harmondsworth : Penguin, pp. 143-249.
50. As did happen in France, described by GRIGNON, C. (1975) "L'enseignement agricole et la domination symbolique de la paysannerie". Actes de la Recherche en Sci. soc. 1:75-97.
51. As in the case of France, which until very recently was a country apart in Europe because of its high proportion of rural population. Political measures of the past ten years have rapidly changed this with the well-known consequences.

52. See BARRACLOUGH, S. (1962) "Agrarian structure and education in Latin America" paper for Conf. on Education and Social and Economic Development in Latin America, Santiago, Chile. UNESCO/ED/CEDES/30, pp. 16-17, and FEDER, E. (1970) "Counterreform" in Stavenhagen, R. (ed.) Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America, N.Y.:Anchor p. 212.
53. See for example SEYMOUR, J.M. (1974) "The rural school as an acculturating institution : the Iban of Malaysia" Human Organ. 33 :277-290, who, incidently, recommends more of the same, including mastery learning, as the solution.
54. See BOURDIEU, P. (1972) "Les stratégies matrimoniales dans le système de reproduction" Annales 27 : 1105-1125 and LE ROY LADURIE, E. (1972) "Système de la coutume : structures familiales et coutume d'héritage en France au XVIe siècle" Annales 27 : 825-846.
55. For example, in Kenya, see ERGAS, Z. (1974) "Systèmes éducatifs et dynamique du développement en Afrique, une analyse comparée : Kenya versus Tanzania" Rev. Tiers-Monde 15 : 695-705 and for Sri Lanka, see International Labour Office (1971) Matching Employment Opportunities and Expectations : A Programme of Action for Ceylon : Report Geneva : ILO, p. 93.
56. Statistically speaking, and not for individual cases.
57. In the same way that land reform always produces the same basic results within a capitalist structure, as shown by Gutelman, op. cit.
58. Seee FREIRE, P. (1970) Cultural Action for Freedom and Pedagogy of the Oppressed, both Harmondsworth : Penguin.

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